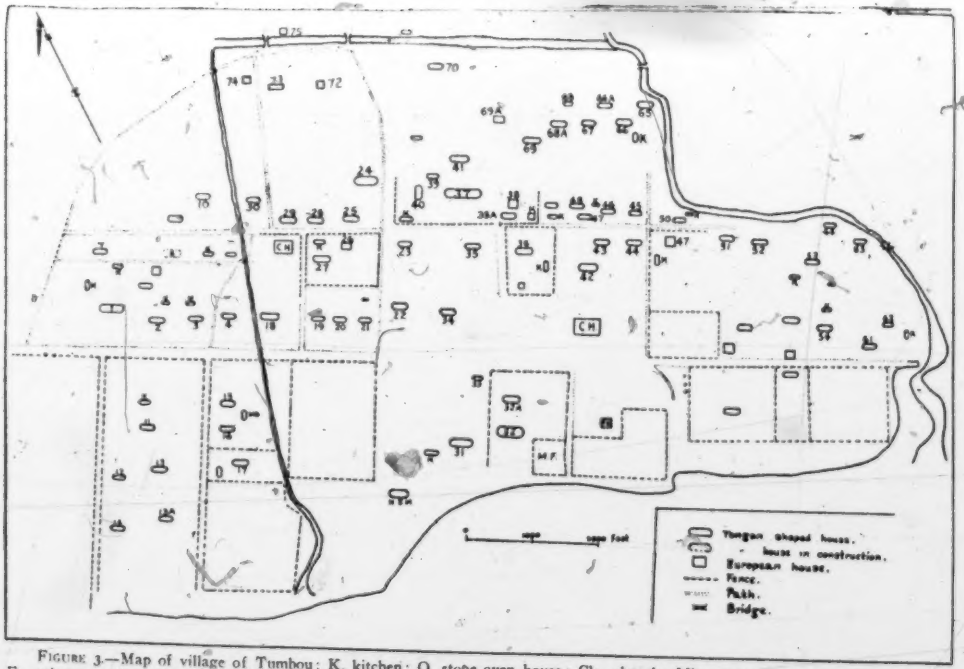

FIGURE 3.—Map of village of Tumbou: K, kitchen; O, stone oven house; Ch., church; Mb., young men's house (*mbure*); M. F., unknown; N. S. M., native magistrate; N. M. P., native medical practitioner; P. O., provincial office. The names of the houses are: 1, Thakaundroveiwai; 2, Mbatau; 3, Nggararaninggio; 4, Koronivia; 5, unknown; 6, Seanggangga; 7, Nakoromaluia; 8, unknown; 9, Nggakilanggi; 10, unknown; 11, unknown; 12, Welangi; 13, Mbouono; 14, Motulala; 15, Manono; 16, Undukathu; 17, Samoa; 18, Vanua Masi; 19, Naveruarua; 20, Thithia; 21, Taira; 22, Seanggangga; 23, Lakembanawa; 24, Vunisavisavi; 25, Tuvukei; 26, Naitasiri; 27, Natambusoro; 28, Nakuki; 29, Matanivolau; 30, Tuvatuvarua; 31, Matailakemba; 32, Kaukilangi; 33, unknown; 34, Matai Naiau; 35, Muailangi; 36, Matanalailai; 37, Vatuwangga; 38, Wangganui; 38A, Sekoula; 39, Vunilangakali; 40, Vunimanggo; 41, Yangasa; 42, Niu Kini; 43, Mbateteva; 44, Ndranivono; 45, unknown; 46, Muanakauli; 47, Veiravui; 48, Muairewa; 49, Verata; 50, unknown; 51, Mbiaungunu; 52, Solomone; 53, Mathuata; 54, Nukuselala; 55, Nathurumothe; 56, Wainingasau; 57, Sawakasa; 58, Naveretambu; 59, Newai; 60, Tiaina; 61, Naisongotheva; 62, Vunimakosoi; 63, Nggalimosi; 64, Mbateteva; 65, Nggaranithava; 66, Loa; 67, unknown; 68, unknown; 69, Mbatiniwai; 70, Taiti; 71, Ndenivonu; 72, Niu Silandi; 73, Naingginggi; 74, Tukituki.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats. The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror, and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanggaanui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makaudre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndakoro { Nanggalia { Matainiwai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. — Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli
	Waipose
	Naivikula
	Navurewa
	Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita
	Ndre
	Mbutha
	Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu
	Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuika
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala
	Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa	Thenu	Namana
	Lomanikoro		Mbutukoro
	Nasuthu	Sau	Mbutoisau
	Natalenggitawa		Nakorolailai
	Namolutu		
Yawalevu	Nautuutu		
	Natavua		
	Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba: some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*).

Naiau

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Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

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The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

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Thithia

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Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

Southern Islands

Relationship

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

Kambara and its Dependencies

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea; Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *votongia*; if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba. Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 774 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitaututaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*.

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba.

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu.[6] They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*matäniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows:

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[1]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tavu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tavu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula: The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[1] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

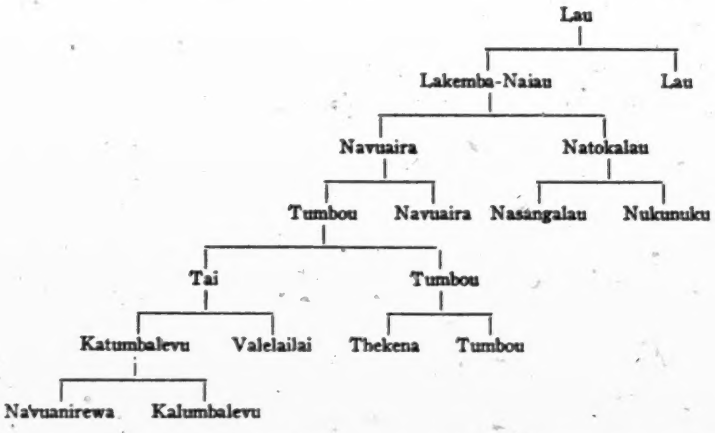
> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a*, but is unknown outside Lau.

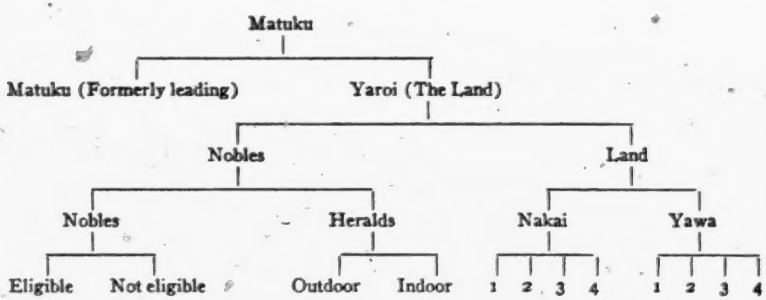
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus



The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

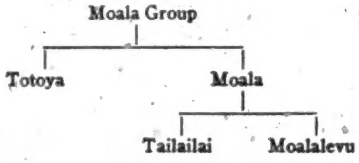
In Matuku it is the same.



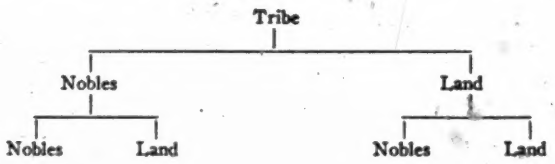
The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The chief of the land is called the Land Chief. The chief of Moala is called Land Chief, and Totoya is said to be noble, thus:



Both in Tumbou and in Yaroi the heralds are said to be the Land of the Chiefs. In the Land division of Yaroi, Nakai are noble.



and so on indefinitely.

The noble side includes the reigning family, the heralds, and the household. The vanguard (*mbati*) is always in the land division. Thus Kambara is on the Lau side. In Lakemba, Yandrana is on the Natokalau side; about Navuaira there is no evidence; in Tumbou Tuware are on the Land side.

The twofold division of Lomaloma at first seems based on a different principle since the whole tribe is not divided into two compact territories, but the capital is divided into two halves of which some villages follow one, others the other. But it can be shown that this was the original state of affairs in Lakemba: it is agreed on all hands that Nasangalau and Nukunuku are noble and are connected with the nobles of Tumbou; and this is borne out by the fact that the heralds of Nasangalau and the indoor heralds of Tumbou have the same god. On the other hand, Vakano and Waitambu were subject to the Land side of Tumbou; Waitambu and Tumbou both worship the bodiless god, and Waitambu worships the Two Ladies, while Thekena worship their children whose father is Tui Vakano; all three call their children rats.

The vanguard (*mbati*) of the whole seems to be closely related to the vanguard of the subdivisions, for Kambara is specially related to both Yandrana and Tumbou quarter. This suggests that the dual division of Tai-Nasangalau-Nukunuku versus Tumbou-Waitambu-Vakano once ran through the whole group.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 The whole frequently derives its name from the inferior divisions. Examples of this are Lau, Navuaira, Tumbou, Katumbalevu, Moala. Of the converse, there is only one instance: Matuku, once the leading half, gives its name to the whole island.

Sometimes there is a third group which does not seem to fit in, as Naturuku in Lomaloma. Intrusive villages such as Levuka and the Tongans in Lakemba may supply the explanation.

Is this the dual organization? The Lauan kinship system is based on the dual organization, and therefore proves that it once existed; in fact, it may be said still to exist since every unit tends to form a bond of intermarriage with some other unit: the nobles and Nasangalau, then later Matailakemba and Nasangalau, Vatuwangga and Naivi, etc. The custom of *tauvu* also records the former existence of intermarrying groups, since the people themselves are conscious that the bond is the same as between cross-cousins. Finally is the word *veitambani* which is used of cross-cousins: it means related as one side to another, and is derived from *tamba* which means wing, side, a side of the village. The great prestige of the home-nephew (*vasu i taukei*) points to a time when the highest form of marriage for a nobleman was with a lady of the Land. For the home-nephew is the son of a nobleman by a lady of the Land. It is difficult to understand otherwise why the son of a lady of a comparatively obscure clan like Thekena, or low caste village like Waitambu, should be a greater man than he who could boast a mother from Thakaundrove, one of the premier states of Fiji. Again, why is Uluilakemba II reckoned a "Great nephew" not on account of his mother of Nasangalau, the ancient nobility of which is known even abroad, but through his grandmother of Tanggalevu? Vakathoko, though senior in the senior branch, is not enumerated among the great noblemen, despite his grandmother of Nukunuku. Obviously it was not mere rank that counted, but the combination of noble and land.

Since society was divided and again subdivided into intermarrying groups, the dual organization was bound to become obscured; for a nobleman as Lakemban would marry into Lau, as one of Tai into Tumbou, as one of Katumbalevu into Valelailai, as Vatuwanggan into Naivi. If at some remote period, as appears to have been the case, the line of cleavage ran out between Lakemba and Lau, Natokalau and Navuaira, and so on, but right across all these divisions forming the nobles consisting of Tai, Naiau, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, perhaps Mothe and some others, and the land, that is, Tumbou, Vakano, Waitambu, Yandrana, Kambara, and others, the case was then much plainer.

There is one possible objection to the theory that identifies the dual organization of the village with what is commonly known among anthropologists as the dual organization. The relations of intermarrying group,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called *veve*, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

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have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an important part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

KAMBARA

Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

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resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well.

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants

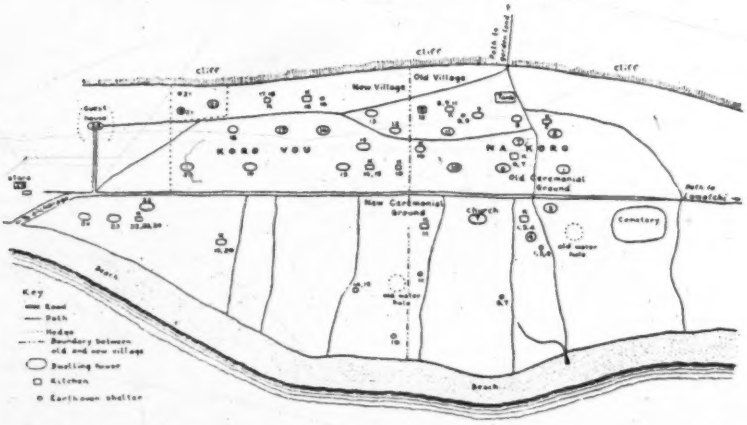

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku.

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	1 occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1 (3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead (4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island (5) female, age 19, child of 4 (6) female, age 8, child of 4 (7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9 (9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8 (10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20 (11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9 (12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9 (13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9 (14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9 (15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9 (16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9 (17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9 (18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9 (19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavonu	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor
				(47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni
				(48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47
				(49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47
				(50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47
				(51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan
				(53) female, age 22, child of 52
				(54) female, age 10, child of 52
				(55) male, age 7, child of 52
				(56) female, age 16, child of 35
				(57) male, age 7, child of 35
				(58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74
				(76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74
				(77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald
				(79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82
				(80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1
				(82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81
				(83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81
				(84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva
				(85) male, age 1, son of 84
				(86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91
				(87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
				(88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni
				(89) female, child of 88
19	Taitchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan
				(91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90
				(92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91
				(93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, child of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119
				(112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111
				(113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111
				(114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111
				(115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111
				(116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111
				(117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111
				(118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow
				(119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan
				(120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119
				(121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau
				(122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110
				(123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

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621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

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the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide.

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village.

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro.

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island.

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu.

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village.

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food.

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621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

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Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters.

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalayu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity.

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village.

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth.

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store.

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Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

> At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Mataiviunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai.

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village.

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village.

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

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both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

[22]

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (27, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

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Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

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sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123).

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail.

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*).

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

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631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

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TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery.

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor, the request is made by the chief of crops.

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

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621 618 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but [427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

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six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau.

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka.

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UNDU

621 618 Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Matasoata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

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Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka.

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small, new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Matasoata clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

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KOROTOLU

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct.

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
● 621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weigh-
● 621 ing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. [778] Once while exploring a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the " Nakauvandra people " but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that " certainty is difficult to reach " regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the " Nakauvandra people " did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. " Totemic " phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the " Nakauvandra people " ; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the " Nakauvandra " group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau

621 A study of the "totemic" phenomena presented in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the group: (1) a "totemic" system associated with island groups, and (2) a "totemic" system associated with clan groups. Although the data on each system are fragmentary and inconclusive, there is some evidence that they form a pattern which may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Totemic" phenomena associated with island groups.

On four out of the five islands studied (namely Kambara, Namuka, Mothe and Fulanga) the land people apparently formerly believed that they originated in some local natural phenomenon, either a tree or an animal. The land people of the island believed that they were the descendants of their particular tree or animal. The totemic ancestor of the land people of Kambara, namely the *ngingia* tree, even bore the title of Vu (ancestor) and the people were called *vuaningingia* (fruit of the *ngingia*). Similarly the land people of each of the islands mentioned above also claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths and those of Kambara and Mothe had a species of bird. No evidence was found of island exogamy associated with the island totemism of the land people. On the contrary, island endogamy was strongest on the islands peopled by land clans.[29]

614 (2) "Totemic" phenomena associated with clan groups.

At least half of the thirty-seven clans studied possessed three "totems": species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. These were called *ithavutchi*. Thus it appears from the data in *Southern Lau* that the "trilogy of linked totems," considered by Capell and Lester[30] to be "normal" in Fiji, is associated in this area with some clans. No evidence was found of belief in descent from the clan "totem." Since clans in Lau are exogamous, this type of "totemism" is associated with exogamy.

Two clans belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group, namely Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau village on Kambara island and Mbutonokoro clan of Nasau village on Mothe island, also had a war cry and war gods. Regarding their *wanggawangga ni kalou-vu* I have no information.

The inference that there were formerly two systems of "totemic" beliefs in southern Lau, one associated with the land people, the other with the "Nakauvandra people," which derives some support from my data, fits in well with the general conclusions regarding the culture history of the area stated above.

It should be added that there is a certain resemblance between the "totemic" phenomena associated with the land people of southern Lau and those described

[29] *Southern Lau*, p. 54.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the ***manumanu***. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (***ngingia***) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to e ***kai wai***, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (***vu***), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (***kalou-vu***), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the ***kai wai***, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the ***kai wai*** of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a ***wangga-wangga***, a tree, a fish, and a ***manumanu***, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants, and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land-clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)